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rule, in reality, when one studies concrete cases, as much magic is inherited in the male as in the female line. For the inheritance of property, including magic, the rule is not rigid and family sentiments frequently override clan rules.

Moreover, despite the cross-secting lines of the clan, the family has a decidedly unified life. It is the husband who clears the bush ground for cultivation, while his wife plants taro. It is he who fishes and brings the larger part of the catch to his wife. She prepares the taro for the evening meal, which they and the children enjoy together, apart from the rest of the hamlet. The mother nurses her infant, and her husband quite frequently takes care of him while she is busy in the garden, or with her cooking. By co-operation in the infinite number of details which comprise family life, the unity of the family is maintained. Finally, a man and his wife have a close affectionate and sexual life, although extra-marital intercourse is rather usual. Even wife-beating, which may cause a temporary rift, serves at the same time to assert the unity of the family; a man never beats his mistress.

CLASSIFICATORY KINSHIP SYSTEM

The kinship groups of moiety, clan, and family having been briefly sketched, it remains to describe in more detail the classificatory system of kinship. The distinctive element of any such system is that a single relationship term is applied to a large group of people and not just to one or a few individuals. The division of the society into two totemic, exogamous moieties has been noted, and the range of kinship terminology is the moiety, all the members of which are considered to be related. If, first, the principles of the system within the immediate family are grasped, it is easy to follow the more complicated extensions. The accompanying diagram of a genealogy helps to illustrate the points.

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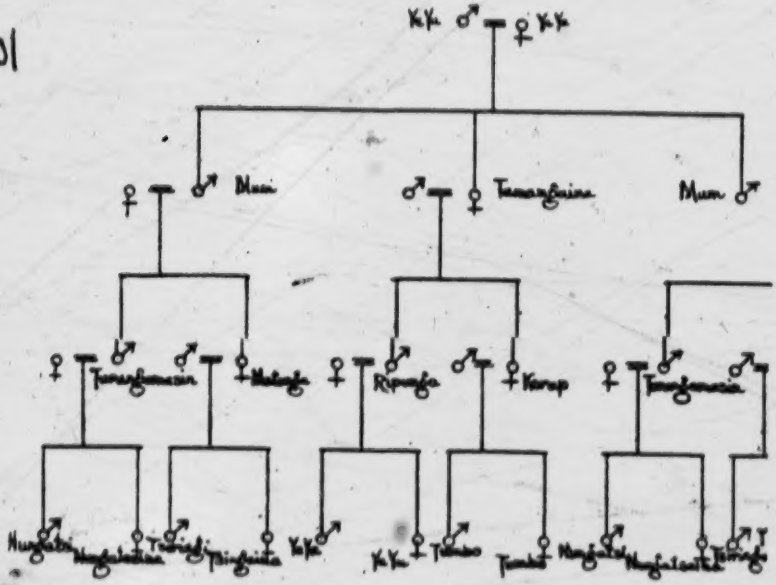

GENEALOGY, SHOWI

[Facing p. 44 (A)]

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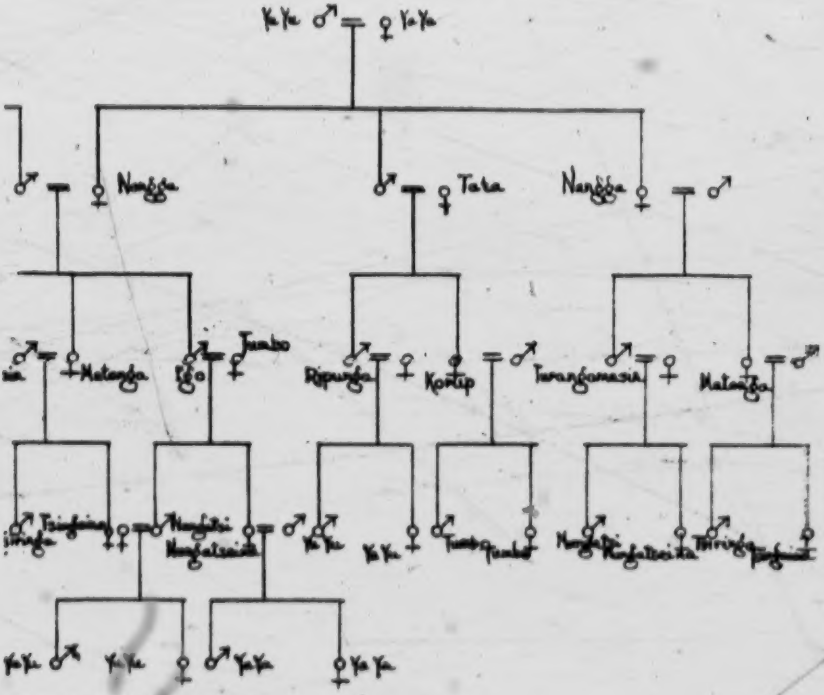

IOWING KINSHIP TERMS

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60/ Although descent is through the mother, the system is bilateral, and on both the mother's and father's side there is a perfect balance in terminology. For example, the same kinship terms apply to the children of the father's sister as to those of the mother's brother, and this balance is found throughout the system.

The following is a list of kinship terms and all the extensions which I was able to collect and test through genealogies.

LIST OF KINSHIP TERMS WITH THEIR EXTENSIONS

With some of the terms a possessive is always used, and this is indicated by a hyphen before the term. Thus son is written *-tsi*. In actual use there would be a possessive before it, such as *nunga-tsi* (my son).

The term is the same whether the speaker is male or female, unless otherwise indicated.

Except in those particular cases in which the personal name is taboo, I was unable to observe any distinction between the use of personal names and kinship terms.

1. *Nangga:* mother; mother's sister; father's brother's wife; spouse's father's sister; mother's mother's sister's son's wife; mother's mother's brother's son's wife; mother's father's brother's son's wife; mother's mother's sister's daughter; father's mother's brother's daughter; mother's father's brother's daughter; mother's father's sister's son's wife.

2. *Mum:* father; father's brother; mother's sister's husband; father's father's brother's son; mother's mother's mother's brother's son; father's mother's sister's son; mother's sister's husband; father's mother's brother's daughter's husband; mother's mother's sister's daughter's husband.

3. *-tsi:* son; the extensions are all those of terms 1 and 2 in inverse order. Terms 1 and 2 are both reciprocal with term 3. There is no distinction in terminology between a first-born child and succeeding ones. The same terms are used for adopted children as for real ones.

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4. *-tsaina:* daughter; the extensions are all those of terms 1 and 2 in inverse order. Terms 1 and 2 are both reciprocal for term 4.

5. *Matonga:* (*a*) male speaking, sister; father's brother's daughter; mother's sister's daughter; wife's father's sister's daughter; wife's mother's brother's wife; and to all women of the same moiety and generation for whom there is no other specific relationship.

(*b*) female speaking, brother; mother's sister's son; father's brother's son; husband's sister's husband; husband's mother's sister's daughter's husband; and to all men of the same moiety and generation for whom there is no specific relationship.

6. *Turangamasin:* male speaking, brother; father's brother's son; mother's sister's son; wife's father's sister's son; and to all men of the same moiety and generation for whom there is no specific relationship.

7. *Towangaina:* female speaking, sister; mother's sister's daughter; father's sister's son's wife; father's brother's daughter; husband's mother's brother's daughter; and to all women of the same generation and moiety for whom there is no specific relationship.

8. *Tata:* (*a*) male speaking, mother's brother; mother's mother's sister's son; mother's mother's brother's daughter's husband; wife's father's brother.

(*b*) female speaking, mother's brother; mother's brother's daughter's husband; father's sister's daughter's husband; father's sister's daughter's daughter's husband; husband's mother's brother's son; husband's mother's mother's brother's son; husband's father's sister's son; husband's sister's husband; mother's mother's brother's daughter's husband; husband's father's brother's son's wife; husband's mother's sister's daughter's husband.

9. *Tsiringa:* male speaking, sister's son and all extensions of term 8 (*a*) in inverse order.

10. *Tsingaina:* male speaking, sister's son and all extensions of term 8 (*b*) in inverse order.

11. *-tumbo:* male speaking, wife; father's sister's daughter's daughter; mother's brother's daughter's daughter; wife's father's brother's daughter's daughter.

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12. *-malis:* female speaking, husband; the extensions are those of term 11 in inverse order. 601

13. *Yaya:* son's daughter; son's son; daughter's daughter; daughter's son; sister's son's son; sister's son's daughter; sister's daughter's daughter; sister's daughter's son; son's wife; sister's son's wife; brother's daughter's daughter; brother's daughter's son; brother's son's son; brother's son's daughter; father's sister's son's daughter; father's sister's son's son; father's brother's son's daughter's daughter; father's brother's son's daughter's son; father's brother's son's son's daughter; father's brother's son's son's son; father's brother's son's son's wife; mother's brother's son's son; mother's brother's son's daughter; mother's brother's son's son's wife; mother's brother's son's daughter's husband; mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son; mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter; mother's sister's daughter's son's daughter; mother's sister's daughter's son's son; mother's sister's son's daughter's daughter; mother's sister's son's daughter's son; mother's sister's son's son's daughter; mother's sister's son's son's son; spouse's sister's son's spouse; spouse's brother's son's son; spouse's brother's son's daughter; spouse's brother's daughter's daughter; spouse's brother's daughter's son; spouse's mother's mother; spouse's mother's father; spouse's mother's sister's daughter's son's wife; spouse's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's husband; spouse's mother's sister's son's son; spouse's mother's sister's son's son's wife; mother's brother's daughter's daughter's daughter; mother's brother's daughter's daughter's son; mother's sister's daughter's son's daughter; mother's daughter's son's son; father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter; father's sister's daughter's daughter's son; father's sister's daughter's son's daughter; father's sister's daughter's son's son; father's sister's son's daughter's daughter; father's sister's son's daughter's son; father's sister's son's son's daughter; father's sister's son's son's son; father's brother's daughter's daughter's daughter; father's brother's daughter's daughter's son; father's brother's daughter's son's daughter; father's brother's daughter's son's son; father's brother's son's daughter's daughter; father's brother's son's daughter's son; father's brother's son's son's daughter; father's brother's son's son's son;

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601 (*a*) male speaking only, spouse's mother's brother's son's son; spouse's mother's brother's son's daughter; spouse's mother's brother's daughter's daughter; spouse's mother's brother's daughter's son; mother's sister's son's son's wife; wife's brother's daughter; wife's brother's son's wife; wife's father's sister's husband; wife's father's sister's daughter's son's wife; wife's father's brother's son's son; wife's father's brother's son's daughter;

(*b*) female speaking only, father's sister's wife; husband's mother's sister; husband's mother's sister's husband; husband's mother's brother; husband's mother's brother's wife.

yaya is a reciprocal term.

14. *Korup:* a taboo relationship;
male speaking, father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's daughter; wife's mother; wife's father's brother's daughter; extension to all the women of his wife's mother's clan and generation, such as his wife's mother's sister, unless there is some other specific relationship; mother's mother's brother's daughter; wife's mother's father's brother's daughter; wife's father's brother's wife; wife's father's father's brother's son's wife; father's father's sister's son's wife; wife's father's mother's sister's son's wife.

The term is reciprocal.

15. *Jamungo:* male speaking, daughter's husband; brother's daughter's husband; father's sister's daughter's husband; father's brother's son's daughter's husband; mother's sister's son's daughter's husband; wife's father; wife's sister's daughter's husband; wife's father's brother's daughter's husband; wife's mother's sister's husband.

The term is reciprocal.

16. *Onga:* (*a*) male speaking, sister's husband; father's brother's daughter's husband; mother's sister's daughter's husband; wife's brother; wife's father's sister's daughter's husband; wife's mother's sister's son;

(*b*) female speaking, husband's sister; mother's sister's son's wife; father's brother's son's wife; husband's sister; husband's father's brother's daughter; wife's mother's

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brother's daughter's son's wife; husband's mother's sister's daughter. 60/

The term is reciprocal, and used only between people of the same sex.

17. *Papa:* (*a*) male speaking, brother's wife; father's brother's son's wife; mother's sister's son's wife; wife's sister; wife's father's sister's son's wife; wife's mother's sister's daughter;

(*b*) female speaking, sister's husband; mother's sister's daughter's husband; father's brother's daughter's husband; husband's brother; husband's father's sister's husband; husband's father's brother's son; husband's mother's sister's son; husband's mother's brother's daughter's daughter's husband.

The term is reciprocal, and used only between people of opposite sex.

18. *Ripunga:* male speaking, father's sister's son; father's sister's daughter's son; mother's brother's son; wife's father's brother's son.

The term is reciprocal, and used only between males.

19. *Ripungaina:* female speaking, mother's brother's daughter; father's sister's daughter; father's sister's daughter's daughter; husband's mother's brother's son's daughter.

The term is reciprocal, and used only between females.

20. *Tinamai:* male speaking, sister's daughter's husband; mother's sister's daughter's daughter's husband; wife's brother's daughter's husband; wife's father's sister's daughter's daughter's husband; wife's mother's brother's daughter's husband; wife's mother's husband.

The term is reciprocal, and used only between males.

21. *-aina:* female speaking, brother's son's wife; father's sister's daughter's son's wife; mother's brother's son's daughter; mother's sister's son's son's wife; husband's mother's brother's son's son's wife.

The term is reciprocal, and used between females.

22. *Tamangaina:* father's sister; father's mother's sister's daughter; father's mother's father's sister's son's wife; father's father's brother's daughter.

23. *-nat:* reciprocal term for 22, when a male is being addressed.

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601 24. *-nataina:* reciprocal term for 22, when a female is being addressed.

25. *Ingatsung:* mother's brother's spouse;

(*a*) male speaking, husband's father's brother's wife;

(*b*) female speaking, husband's sister's son; husband's sister's daughter; husband's father's brother's daughter's son; husband's father's brother's daughter's daughter; husband's mother's brother's son's wife.

The term is reciprocal.

26. *-tamuth:* (*a*) male speaking (*lowanga* sometimes used instead of *tamuth*); mother's brother's daughter's son's wife; mother's brother's daughter's daughter's husband; father's sister's daughter's daughter's husband; wife's sister's husband; wife's mother's sister's daughter's husband; father's sister's husband;

(*b*) female speaking, husband's brother's wife; husband's father's sister; husband's father's brother's son's wife; husband's mother's sister's son's wife.

The term is reciprocal.

We can now discuss certain fundamental principles underlying the system and the more important behaviour patterns accompanying the kinship terms.

582 The preferred marriage for a man is with the daughter of his cross-cousin, i.e. with his mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or his father's sister's daughter's daughter (see terms 11, 12). The man would thus always be in the generation above his wife. Whether this marriage takes place or not, the terms for husband and wife are used between a man and his cross-cousin's daughter, and he calls his cross-cousin's daughter's children by the same terms as he calls his own. If the preferred marriage always occurred, intermarriage between the same clans would then happen, resulting in a possible class system. But the preferred marriage does not always occur. Very many times marriages, other than the preferred one, are made. The following analysis of 353 marriages indicate how far there is any

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always a taboo relationship to a man. Whether this taboo relationship is fundamentally a cross-cousin or a mother-in-law one is at present a matter of conjecture.[1]

Between cross-cousins of the same sex (*ripunga* and *ripungaina*, see terms 18 and 19) there is friendliness, cordiality, and affection. The link connecting them is the very close and affectionate mother's brother or father's sister, and there is no possibility of sex conflict, because they are of the same sex.

A mutually helpful and affectionate relationship exists between parents and children. An infant or child is cared for by the older member, and in a similar way an old, feeble member is dependent upon the younger one of the relationship.

There is also a friendly helpful and fond relationship between brothers and between sisters. A brother and sister relationship is marked by friendliness and helpfulness, but at the same time there is a semi-avoidance to insure an absence of sexual relations. Sexual play between them before puberty is prohibited, and while there is a frequent exchange of gifts and services in adult life, there are no intimacies. Conversation is limited to a minimum.

The term mother is used for the mother's sister and father for the father's brother, and a person calls his mother's, sister's, and father's brother's children by the term brother and sister (see terms 1, 2, 3, 4). Should a native's own mother be dead, his mother's sister takes her place. Similarly, if an old woman's own children are dead, her sister's children will take care of her. If a native's mother and mother's sisters are all alive, some of his duties towards the latter will remain latent. But other duties, such as assistance in garden work, will be carried out.

For the mother's brother and father's sister new terms

[1] The native word for taboo when applied to objects (and not to people) is *korul*. So whether *korup* is a kinship term in the same sense that "mother" is, or whether it is simply a word for taboo, is also uncertain.

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601 are used (see terms 8, 9, 10, 22, 23, 24). The former is the closer of the two relationships, and this can easily be correlated with the fact that in this matrilineal society descent is through the mother. The mother's brother accepts economic responsibilities for rites held during his nephew's and niece's infancy and youth, and they, when grown up, accept economic responsibilities towards their maternal uncle, assisting him in various undertakings and providing his mortuary feast. Between a man and his sister's children there is a warm personal relationship throughout life. Friendly obligations between a native and his father's sister also exist, but they are of less significance than those towards his mother's brother. When one member of the former relationship is dancing it is the privilege of the other one to hit the dancer on the back with white lime, and the dancer will then be obliged to give him a small gift, usually tobacco, after the dance is over.

601 The reciprocal term *yaya* used between grandparents and grandchildren (see term 13) is one of the most widely 603 extended ones. Real grandparents have duties at the birth of their grandchildren and contribute food to the feast when their daughter or daughter-in-law gives birth to a child. The relationship throughout life is an affectionate one.

551 A taboo on personal names exists in the *onga* relationship (see term 16). A man cannot mention the personal name 607 of his wife's brother nor a woman the personal name of her husband's sister. They usually refer to each other as the father or mother of so-and-so. But that is as far as the taboo goes. The two members in the relationship can work and talk together and be good friends.

In the *papa* relationship (see term 17) there is no such name taboo. A man calls his brother's wife and a woman her sister's husband by their own name, and the relationship is a friendly one. They are, of course, potential mates in the event of the death of their spouse.

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The individual family provides the initial situation and the primary meaning of the kinship terms, but this does not mean that a term has exactly the same meaning regardless to whom it refers. For example, the extension of the term mother to the mother's sister, father's brother's wife, etc. (see term 1), is a linguistic extension, and does not necessarily mean that sociologically they are equivalent. A native never confuses his mother and mother's sister (and all the other relatives to whom the term mother is used) with each other, although he may call them all by the same name. There is a decided difference in emotional tone according to whether the term mother is used towards a real mother or one of the other relatives to whom the term also refers. A classificatory mother does not observe the sexual taboos of a real mother. As Professor Malinowski has shown, the use of the same term emphasizes the similarities in the two relationships and ignores the differences.

While the kinship terminology extends throughout the moiety, i.e. a man calls all the women of his own moiety and generation, who are not otherwise related to him, sister, the initial pattern of behaviour formed within the immediate family is not always extended so far. Behaviour patterns, for the most part, tend to grow fainter and vaguer as the actual kinship relationship becomes more extended. Within the immediate family, and also within the clan, behaviour is closely correlated with the terminology. The weakening of the behaviour associated with certain terms occurs to a very small degree within the clan. But outside the clan, and in the further removed extensions, there may be no correlation, or very little, of behaviour with kinship terminology. For example, the behaviour of a man towards his *korup* (see term 14), who is his cross-cousin or mother-in-law, is one of strict avoidance, and this behaviour extends to all women of his *korup's* clan and generation, who are not otherwise related to him; but it does not extend to the

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601 602 women outside of this clan, even though they may stand in a classificatory *korup* relationship. One man is known to have married a woman who was *korup* to him in a very wide classificatory sense, and the marriage was not considered a transgression of the social rule.[1] The terminology is extended on both sides, through the father and through the mother and to include in-laws, the generation, moiety, and sex always being the same as in the initial or primary family relationship. Thus *nangga* (mother, see term 1) is always a female and of the same moiety and a generation above the speaker. This is true of a real mother and of one of the furthest extensions of the term such as to mother's father's sister's son's wife. But while the terminology is extended throughout the moiety, it is the clan through which descent and inheritance are traced which emphasizes behaviour. Thus a man will act to some degree as a son to all those women whom he calls mother and who are of his real mother's clan. But he does not necessarily act as a son to the other women whom he calls mother and who are of his mother's moiety but not of her clan. The clan forms the limit to which the behaviour accompanying the kinship terminology applies. Beyond the clan the terms may apply, but the patterns of behaviour have grown very faint. The one exception to this is the extension of the brother-sister relationship and the incest taboo between them. It is regarded as incestuous for any man and woman of the same moiety, regardless of their lack of actual relationship, to have sexual intercourse. Thus the strongest taboo of the society is applied the most widely.

601 One of the functions of the kinship system appears to be the elimination of sexual interest in regard to certain people and the restriction of it to others. The exogamous function

[1] This particular *korup* relationship was so far extended that the individuals concerned were unable to trace it for me, and it did not come out in their respective genealogies.

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of the moiety system automatically forbids a man to have sex relations with his mother, sisters, grandmother, mother's sister, parallel cousins, all of whom belong to his moiety. His daughter, who is of a different moiety, is also made taboo to him, although there is no ritual surrounding the prohibition. The making of the female cross-cousin, (term 14) of his own generation and of a different moiety taboo to him completes the elimination of sexual interest towards those women with whom a man mingles in his workaday life. On the other hand, the selection of two people, the daughters of cross-cousins (see term 11), as preferred mates, gives sexual interest a specific place. Sex interest is thus theoretically localized and centred instead of being diffused. This might make for an efficiency in work, since it is difficult to mingle numerous erotic interests which are obsessive and distractive with practical affairs, such as the gardening and fishing of everyday life. However, the fact that these incest taboos are occasionally broken shows that desires cannot always be held in check by a kinship system and its rules. But speaking broadly, the system works.

The extension of the family relationships into the broader circles of clan and moiety forms this kinship system, the axis about which the social life of the individual revolves. To some relatives he will have economic responsibilities; to some he will be affectionate, while to others he may not talk; some women are forbidden to him, while others are potential mates. And so his life moves through the pattern spun by the kinship system.

SEX

The two major groupings based on locality and kinship have been described. There remains the third manner in which the society is divided, on lines of sex. In much of

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CHAPTER VII

SEXUAL LIFE

000 By sexual life is here meant the whole relationship between a man and a woman. It includes not only the sex act, but also the daily sharing of duties, the little acts of affection, and even the quarrels, and comprises the whole system of sentiments which develop out of the life in common between a man and a woman. The bonds of affection which may perhaps be primarily based on sexual attraction are strengthened and reinforced by all the casual intimacies of family life, and even the disputes and quarrels are part of it.

MARRIAGE

595 Before going into detail it is necessary to sketch the outlines of the marriage pattern. Marriage may be polygamous, polyandrous, or monogamous. In the past, most men had two wives, but rarely more than that at a time, with the exception of a chief, who might have three or four. A man marries them at different times, and the woman he marries first is known as *aeina towanmaga* (literally, woman first). The second woman he marries is known as *aeina inil* (literally, woman later time). The husband, however, addresses them both by the same term, *nunga tumbo* (my wife). The children of either wife call each one *nangga*, mother.

[601]

Occasionally the two women live in the same house, but much more frequently the husband builds a separate house for each wife. He sleeps with one wife one night, and with the other on another night. Each wife has her own garden, and the husband works in their gardens alternately, usually going in the morning to the garden of the one with whom he has slept.

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Wife number one has a certain precedence over the other. When the husband returns from fishing he gives the fish to wife number one, who then divides it with wife number two. The same order is followed with baked pig, or any other food which the husband brings home from a feast. Number one will always give half the food to number two, but the former would be very angry and feel insulted if her husband should not give the food to her first.

A woman may also have two husbands, known as husband number one (*tamuth towanmaga*, man first time) and number two (*tamuth inil*, man later), in the order in which she has acquired them. She calls both of them *nunga malis*, my husband. There is no evidence of a woman ever having more than two husbands at one time. Number one makes the marriage payment to his wife's maternal relatives in the traditional manner. Number two, however, pays the *tsera* to number one and not to his wife's clan relatives. Should husband number one die, number two will stay on with the woman and make no additional payment to her clan relatives. It is considered that the payment is finished when he pays number one at the beginning of the marriage.

Both husbands bring the woman fish, pig, etc., and she cooks for each one. The three eat together, the two men with the bundle of taro between them, and the woman close by. Sometimes the three sleep in the same house, three beds in a row, and the woman between the two men. At other times husband number two will sleep in the men's house, and the woman will sleep with her husbands alternately. There appears to be no quarrelling between the two men. The children of the woman call both men *mum* (father). In the past these polyandrous marriages were the exception rather than the rule, and there is only one such marriage in Lesu now. The first husband died during my visit, and the second then became husband number one.

Monogamous marriages also existed in the past, and

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

itself several instances were recorded, one even between people of the same subdivision. The people say that such marriages are "bad". They appear to have been contracted in the past as well, and, as far as I could learn, the persons so united do not appear to suffer any social disability on that account.

Marriage is regulated by the clan system, that is to say, a man must marry out of his own clan. It is regulated still further by kinship. In most of the villages, marriage with the father's sister's daughter or the mother's brother's daughter is strictly prohibited, and in some places this prohibition is extended even to the daughters of classificatory father's sisters and mother's brothers, and almost everywhere men may marry the widow of a mother's brother, the daughters of classificatory cross-cousins, the brother's widow and the wife's sister. In one or two places, however, marriage with the daughters of the real cross-cousins was said to be permitted, although such marriages rarely took place.

I was able to investigate pedigrees in a few villages. The kinship terms used by the persons recorded in these pedigrees, together with fragmentary notes on the marriages that had taken place or were said to be permissible, are given hereunder. Owing to lack of time, however, these particulars are not complete, and I am submitting them merely for purposes of record, as they might be of use to future investigators with more time to spend in the investigation of social organization.

The first pedigree was taken at Luburua. The terms of relationship used by the various persons recorded are as follow:—

Tamang.—Father.
Nang.—Mother.
Natuk.—Son.
Imuna.—Father's sister; father's sister's husband; husband of father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's wife.
Imuna.—Sister's daughter's husband; wife's mother's brother; wife's mother.
Ifina.—Father's sister's son; mother's brother's son; sister's husband; wife's father.
Kaisuna.—Father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's son (woman speaking); father's sister's daughter's son; mother's brother's daughter.
Mogetena.—Mother's brother's sister's son.
Inena.—Husband's father; husband's mother.
Tinafin.—Sister.
Ifandevin.—Brother's wife (woman speaking); husband's sister.
Palun.—Sister (woman speaking); brother.
Tinamean.—Sister; brother (woman speaking).

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

582 In this village it was said that the cross-cousin marriage is permitted, and one man recorded in the pedigree definitely told me that, if he liked, he could marry a woman shown in the pedigree as the daughter of his mother's brother. Marriage with the mother's brother's daughter's daughter is also permitted according to my informants, but they stated that marriage with the mother's brother's widow is prohibited. Unfortunately, I was only able to record one pedigree in this village.

601 In Lakurumau one pedigree was taken, and the terms of relationship used are as follow:—

Tamang.—Father; father's brother.
Nang.—Mother; father's brother's wife.
Aliksugu.—Son; son of father's brother's son; brother's son.
Kogok.—Father's sister; brother's son (woman speaking); wife's mother.
Mogorugu.—Father's sister's husband; wife's brother's son; father's brother's daughter's daughter; sister's son; son of mother's brother son; mother's brother.
Fagu.—Father's sister's son; husband of father's brother's daughter; sister's husband; brother's wife (woman speaking) and husband's sister; mother's brother's son.
Dinafingu.—Father's brother's daughter; father's brother's son (woman speaking); sister.
Diagu.—Father's brother's son; brother; sister (woman speaking).
Kaiasgu.—Wife of father's brother's son; brother's wife; father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's daughter.
Aiamung.—Wife's father; father's sister's daughter.
Aratesegu.—Wife; husband; daughter of mother's brother's daughter.
Nenagu.—Husband's father; husband's mother.

It was stated here that the names of the following relations may not be spoken:—Sister, wife's mother, sister's husband, wife's brother, wife's sister. The cross-cousin marriage is definitely prohibited.

One pedigree was recorded in Madina, and the following relationship terms were used by the persons investigated:—

Mago or *Mama.*—Father; father's brother.
Naga or *Nang.*—Mother.
Ngalik.—Son.
Fagu.—Father's sister's son; husband of father's brother's daughter; son of wife's father's brother; mother's brother's son; wife's brother; sister's husband.

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Fafnagu.—Father's brother's son (woman speaking); father's brother's daughter; wife's brother's wife; sister; brother (woman speaking). 60/●

Agasugu.—Son of father's brother's daughter; son of mother's father's brother; mother's brother's sister's son and daughter; wife's brother's son.

Nai-ia.—Father's mother; father's father; mother's mother; mother's father; son's son; daughter's son.

Mogorugu.—Mother's brother; sister's son and daughter (this term appears to be used as well as Agasugu).

Ninagu.—Wife of sister's son; husband of sister's daughter; husband's father and mother; son's wife; wife of wife's brother's son.

Kogo.—Mother's brother's wife; husband's sister's son; daughter's husband (woman speaking).

Alismara or *Karasigu.*—Mother's brother's daughter.

Kogastunan.—Father's sister's son (woman speaking).

Aravin Surugu.—Wife.

Arate Surugu.—Husband.

Nimugu.—Wife's mother; wife's father; husband's mother; son's wife; husband's father; daughter's husband.

Aimung.—Daughter's husband.

Duagu.—Sister (woman speaking).

Dasigu.—Brother.

In this pedigree the names of wife's mother, wife's father, sister's husband and mother's brother's wife were avoided by the informants.

Two pedigrees were taken at Limalaua, a bush village. The terms of relationship used are as follow:—

Namo.—Father; father's brother.

Nangak.—Mother.

Nangak Rung.—Father's brother's wife.

Poirang.—Son.

Poirung.—Daughter.

Nambura.—Father's sister; mother's brother's wife.

Nambura Ruang.—Brother's son (woman speaking); husband's sister's son.

Tatak.—Father's sister's husband; father's mother's brother's son; mother's brother.

Talo.—Wife's brother's son; son of father's sister's son; sister's son.

Talau-Rung.—Sister's daughter; the wife of the father's brother's son's son.

Kogup.—Father's sister's son; wife's mother.

Lorung.—Wife of father's sister's son; mother's brother's wife.

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[60] *Papa Ruang.*—Son of husband's mother's brother; husband's sister's husband; elder brother (woman speaking).

Kogule.—Father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's daughter; wife's mother.

Muge.—Mother's brother's son (woman speaking); father's sister's son (woman speaking); son of father's sister's daughter; son of wife's mother's father's sister; husband of sister's daughter; daughter's husband (woman speaking); wife's brother; sister's husband's son and the mother's father's sister.

Namogo.—Husband of mother's brother's daughter; son of wife's father's sister; husband of father's sister's daughter; son of wife's mother's brother.

Magambutung.—Wife; daughter of father's sister's daughter; daughter of mother's brother's daughter.

Leruang.—Husband; son of mother's mother's brother; son of mother's father's sister.

Anmula Ruang.—Wife's father; daughter's husband; husband of brother's daughter.

Mela Ruang.—Son of mother's brother's daughter; son of the wife's mother's father's sister; son of the mother's mother's brother; sister's husband; wife's brother.

Luap Tuang.—Wife's sister's husband.

Papa (sometimes *Papa Ruang*).—Brother; sister (woman speaking); brother's wife's sister (woman speaking).

Pava.—Brother's wife; husband's brother; wife's sister; sister's husband (woman speaking).

Nemula.—Husband's sister; brother's wife (woman speaking).

Aia.—Father's father; father's mother; son's son; mother's father; mother's mother; wife of brother's son; wife of sister's son; husband's mother; son's wife; husband's father; husband's father's brother.

In one case where a man has married the widow of his younger brother, and now looks after her two children, the younger brother is now referred to by his children as Aia, and their adopted father as Mamo.

Aia Rang, a term sometimes used towards the sons of the sister's sons and daughters.

Aia Rung, a term sometimes used towards the daughters of sister's sons and daughters.

[595] 582 Polygynous unions with two sisters are permissible. Marriage between cross-cousins, however, is definitely barred. The natives say they would rather hang themselves than break this rule. It is permissible to marry the daughter of the mother's brother's daughter or

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the father's sister's daughter, although this does not often take place. 582
Marriages with the daughters of classificatory cross-cousins, however, frequently occur. In one pedigree a man is married to the sister of his mother's brother's wife; this woman calls her husband's mother's brother Pava instead of Eia or Aia, which would be the usual term. Formerly polyandrous unions took place in this village, but have been abandoned since the missions became established.

The next pedigree was taken at Letatan. The terms of relationship 601
used are as follow:—

Mamo.—Father; father's brother.
Nango.—Mother.
Peruang.—Son; brother's son; wife's sister's son.
Perung.—Daughter; brother's daughter; wife's sister's daughter.
Nambura.—Mother's brother's wife; husband's sister's son; father's sister; sister's son's wife; husband's mother's brother.
Tata.—Mother's brother; son of husband's father's sister; son of wife's mother's father's sister; husband's sister's husband.
Talau.—Sister's son; wife of mother's brother's son; husband of mother's brother's daughter; wife's brother's wife.
Inot.—Mother's brother's son; father's sister's son.
Kogup.—Father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's daughter; father's sister's son (woman speaking); mother's brother's son (woman speaking).
Namugu.—Husband of mother's brother's daughter.
Mogambutang.—Wife, daughter of father's sister's daughter.
Lai Ruang.—Husband.
Mela Ruang.—Wife's brother; sister's husband; husband of wife's sister; son of father's sister's daughter.
Anamuli Rang.—Wife's father.
Kogili Rung.—Wife's mother.
Kogili Rang.—Daughter's husband (woman speaking).
Mega Tuang.—Wife; sister's husband.
Papa.—Brother; sister (woman speaking).
Pava Rung.—Brother's wife; wife's sister; sister's husband (woman speaking).
Nemula.—Brother's wife (woman speaking); husband's sister.
Mugi Rang.—Sister's daughter's husband.
Eia.—Father's father; father's mother; mother's father; mother's mother; son's son; wife's brother's son; wife's brother's daughter; daughter of mother's brother's son; son of mother's brother's son.

601 The term Rang is affixed to designate a male, and Rung to designate a female.

582 601 Letatan is a bush village. The cross-cousin marriage is strongly prohibited, but marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother's daughter, the wife's sister and the brother's widow is permissible. The [551] names of the wife's mother, wife's brother, father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter were avoided by the persons recorded in the pedigree.

601 The next pedigrees (2) were taken at Konnos, a village of bush people. The following terms of relationship were used:—

Tamang.—Father; father's brother.

Nanga.—Mother; father's brother's wife; wife of mother's brother's son.

Nungu Sigik.—Son.

Nungu Inek.—Daughter.

Inasong.—Mother's brother's wife; husband's sister's son; wife of sister's son; husband's mother's brother.

Nambangit.—Mother's brother; father's sister's husband.

Noiang.—Sister's son; sister's daughter.

Kogup.—Mother's brother's son; father's sister's son.

Tang.—Son of mother's brother's son; brother; wife's sister; brother's wife; sister (woman speaking).

Ninugu.—Daughter of mother's brother's son; sister; brother (woman speaking).

Tagik.—Sister's husband; wife's brother.

Nungu Rumbu.—Wife.

Nunguru Masik.—Husband; sister's daughter's husband; daughter of the husband's sister's daughter.

Namugu.—Wife's father; daughter's husband; brother's daughter's husband; mother's brother's daughter's husband; wife's father's brother; wife's father's sister's son; husband of father's sister's daughter; son of wife's mother's brother.

Nungu Waru(e), Nungu Goko(y), or Evaru.—Wife's mother; daughter's husband (woman speaking); mother's brother's daughter; mother's brother's son; (woman speaking) father's sister's daughter; father's sister's son (woman speaking).

Tambugu.—Father's father; father's mother; mother's father; mother's mother; son's son; brother's daughter's son; son of father's sister's son; daughter of father's sister's son; daughter of mother's mother's brother's daughter.

Nangena.—Brother's wife (woman speaking); husband's sister.

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Nimugu.—Father's sister; daughter of mother's brother's daughter. 601

Nenang.—Son's wife; husband's mother; husband's father.

Navaru.—Mother's brother's son (woman speaking).

Tangamuia.—Sister's daughter's daughter; mother's mother's brother.

In the pedigree it was noticed that the name of the mother's [551] brother's wife was avoided and also the wife's mother. Marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is definitely prohibited, but 582 marriage with the wife's sister or the brother's widow is allowed. There are probably other regulations in regard to marriage that I have not recorded. Before the mission became established, definite sex 837 relations were permitted between the men and women of small groups, who were described as being "friends" of one another.

The next pedigree was recorded at Kenobin, a few miles below 601 Konnos. These also are village people. The terms of relationship used are as follow:—

Tamang.—Father; father's brother; mother's sister's husband.

Nanga.—Mother; mother's sister; father's brother's wife.

Ungu Zigik.—Son; sister's daughter's husband; the husband of the husband's father's brother's daughter.

Guinek.—Daughter; the daughter of the husband's father's sister's daughter.

Inazong.—Mother's brother's wife; husband's sister's son; sister's son's wife; husband's mother's brother.

Tata or Nambangit.—Mother's brother; mother's father's brother's son (woman speaking).

Noiang.—Sister's son; sister's daughter; son of father's sister's son; daughter of father's brother's daughter; son of father's brother's daughter.

Pawugu.—Father's sister's son.

Guwaru.—Father's sister's daughter; wife's mother; daughter's husband (woman speaking).

Namugu.—Husband of father's sister's daughter; wife's father; daughter's husband.

Ninugu.—Wife of father's sister's son; sister; husband's sister's husband; sister's daughter's daughter.

Amuia.—Mother's mother's brother (woman speaking).

Tagik or Gurumasik.—Sister's husband; wife's brother.

Gurumasik.—Husband; husband of father's brother's daughter.

Guru Rumbu.—Wife.

Tang.—Father's brother's son; father's brother's son's wife.

Nangenz.—Husband's sister; brother's wife (woman speaking).

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551 During the taking of this pedigree the sister's name and her presence
593 were strongly avoided. Other terms avoided were the father's sister's daughter, father's sister's son's wife, the mother's brother's wife, the wife's mother, and a woman avoids her brother and his name; the wife's brother and the wife's father do not appear to be avoided.

837 In this village it was said that small groups of men and women
572 were friendly to one another even to the extent of exchanging wives. This is now dying out with the coming of mission influence. The last group of the kind consisted of the following men and their wives:—Langiaun (male), Sagarin (female); Lile (male), Lubun (female); Marangas (male), Kesiga (female); Eangulin (male), Narong (female). Each man had access to each woman, and the groups lived happily together. Marangas then went to work on the gold-fields leaving Kesiga with his group friend Eangulin. After a short time, Eangulin found he liked Kesiga better than his wife, Narong, so he gave Narong to the Luluai of the village, Lega—who did not belong to the group at all—and stole Kesiga. Narong afterwards died. When Marangas returned from the gold-fields, and found that Eangulin had stolen Kesiga and did not want to give her up, he was very angry, and withdrew from the group altogether, marrying another woman.
582 The group then broke up. It was stated in the village that marriage with the mother's brother's widow is allowed, but that marriage with the daughter of the father's sister's daughter is prohibited. There was one instance of marriage with the deceased wife's sister. I omitted an inquiry as to marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother's daughter.

601 The next pedigree was taken at Pinigindu, and the following relationship terms were recorded:—

Tamak.—Father; father's brother; mother's sister's husband.

Nanga.—Mother; father's brother's wife; mother's sister.

Emanda Karak.—Son.

Nimugu.—Father's sister; brother's son (woman speaking); father's sister's daughter's daughter.

Nak.—Father's sister's husband; wife's brother's son; husband of father's sister's daughter's daughter.

Tata.—Mother's brother.

Noiak.—Sister's son; sister's daughter.

Nasong.—Mother's brother's wife; husband's sister's son.

Koko.—Father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's son (woman speaking); daughter of father's sister's daughter's daughter.

Masikogup.—Father's sister's daughter's husband; wife's mother's brother's son.

Wepaguna or *Kogup.*—Mother's brother's son.

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Pavugu.—Father's sister's son; father's sister's daughter (woman speaking). 601

Wenen Aulit.—Mother's brother's son's wife; husband's father's sister's son.

Metak.—Mother's brother's son's son; father's father's sister's son; mother's brother's son's son's wife; brother; brother's wife; husband's brother.

Weton.—Mother's sister's son; sister (woman speaking).

Ramasik.—Mother's sister's daughter's husband; wife's brother; sister's husband.

Inugu.—Mother's sister's daughter; sister; brother (woman speaking).

Nenak.—Wife of mother's sister's son's son.

Namugu.—Wife's father; daughter's husband.

Rulom.—Wife's mother; daughter's husband (woman speaking).

Nisok.—Wife.

Randirak.—Husband.

Nangini.—Brother's wife (woman speaking); husband's sister.

Paguna.—Mother's brother's daughter (woman speaking).

Tumbugu.—Father's father; father's mother; mother's mother; mother's father; son's son.

A woman, for whom the term Koko was used, married the brother of the speaker and then became Metak to him, the term used for brother. Marriage with the cross-cousins and their daughters is strictly prohibited, but marriage with classificatory cross-cousins and their daughters is allowed, and also marriage with the mother's brother's widow. [582]

The next pedigree was taken at Karu, but, as it was difficult to get information, the material is scanty. The terms used are as follow:—

Magu.—Mother.

Barukanu.—Son.

Orong Kanu.—Mother's brother; mother's brother's daughter's husband.

Subun Tanu.—Sister's son; wife's father's sister's son.

Lenasong.—Mother's brother's wife; husband's sister's son.

Lowuk.—Mother's brother's son; father's sister's son; mother's brother's daughter's son; mother's father's sister's son.

Koko.—Mother's brother's daughter; father's sister's son (woman speaking).

Imuk.—Wife's father; daughter's husband; son's wife; husband's father.

Wowup.—Wife's mother; daughter's husband (woman speaking).

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601 **Rok.—Brother; sister (woman speaking).**
Matok.—Brother's wife; husband's brother.
Sagok.—Sister; brother (woman speaking).
Ramisik.—Wife's brother; sister's husband.
Suk or *Oitanu.*—Wife.
Suk.—Husband.
Enak.—Husband's mother; son's wife (woman speaking).
Egik.—Brother's wife (woman speaking); husband's sister.

582 In this pedigree one man is married to two sisters who are both living. The cross-cousin marriage is said to be definitely barred. A man is permitted to marry his mother's brother's widow, his brother's widow, his wife's sister, or the daughter of his mother's brother's daughter. In this village there are several instances of marriage between people of the same clan.

586 587 In almost every village on the East coast of New Ireland there are numerous men and women who have been divorced and re-married several times. The priests of the Roman Catholic Mission hold that the facility with which these divorces and re-marriages take place reacts on the issue rate of the community.

614 162 The clan distribution of the population between Kavieng and Karu is shown in the following tables of adults and children of both sexes. (Appendix 2.)

614 As I have already stated, each clan is divided into sub-groupings associated in some way with the ghosts of the dead. Every person, therefore, has his clan *evit-bung* or *pambang* (north of Fatmilak), *butamit* (south of Fatmilak), his totem, *mani*, and his sub-division, *masolei*, *masele* (north of Fatmilak), *morali* or *misili* (south of Fatmilak). The sub-divisions bear the names of pieces of land, caves, capes, mountains, rocks, prominent points on the sea-shore, reefs, rivers, waterfalls, or other natural phenomena, characteristic of the spot from which the sub-division is said to have originated, and in addition they bear the names of and are associated with mythical pigs, snakes, sharks, or other animals connected with the site that bears the group name. A large number of the *masolei* sites consist of fertile land, which is planted from time to time by the members of the *masolei* sub-division or by people of other sub-divisions permitted to do so. Quite a number [778] of the sub-division locations, however, are barren, and without value. Such places are regarded simply as sacred spots to which the members of the sub-divisions associated with them have rights against others.

Between Kavieng and Fatmilak there are many villages in which the clans have merely one or two sub-divisions apparently of little importance. In Kavieng itself I found the same sub-divisional name occurring in more than one clan. In places like Lakuramau and